644 appointed bards (abachu rabgenge), as well as literary jousters or men
538 of choice language called Abasizi, whose only role is to refresh the king's memory or to beguile his leisure with tasteful improvisations. Even the commoners are not insensitive to literature. There is not a single Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ who is not keenly interested in the legends, narratives, fables, moral or humorous tales, riddles, plays on words, jokes, etc., belonging to the oral literature.

644 Every post at the capital has its own traditions which must be scrupulously observed. We shall attempt to provide a short description of the duties and regulations connected with those offices, and of the practices and formalities to which the king must submit on the one hand and his subjects on the other.

The reader should not be surprised to hear that there is etiquette and ceremonial at court.

It is easy to imagine the oddity of a circle such as that of the court, where such varied figures rub shoulders within such a relatively small space: lords, courtiers, disciples of Aesculapius and vulgar charlatans, servants, sorcerers and diviners of various sorts, caterers, stewards, dancers, pages, keepers of the traditions, official chroniclers, literary men, etc., to list but a few. /353/ This whole world exists, thinks, and acts for the sake of the king alone. It is a true medieval court with, moreover, pagan mores where the element of sorcery predominates.

●128 Laymen unfamiliar with Africa will be able to form an idea of what a king and his court represent in a Black land. What we shall say of the former political situation, the royal mores that prevailed, the human tributes and bloody bondage, will not only describe the
[643] ancient times but also demonstrate the respect that surrounded the person of the king, who was regarded by his subjects as a demigod. When viewed in the past, his bloody whims, far from being injurious to his reputation, only served to strengthen his power and his majesty. Primitive souls are awed by displays of brute force.

Among other interesting details, one will find in these pages the more or less rational origin, derived from legend or history, of many a practice and custom that still exists today.

128 Among those customs, let us mention the preservation and upkeep of a dog-faced baboon at the capital, the watch over the sacred fire bequeathed by one of the dynastic forebears, the worship of the royal drum which is regarded as the "palladium" of the realm, the existence of sacred cows and their presentation at important [527] ceremonies, the yearly celebration of the festival called the "first-fruits festival," and the observance of a day of rest every five days. No less interesting, from an ethnological standpoint, are the passages describing the funeral customs observed at the death of a king and those referring to cemeteries, royal groves, and the royal ancestral spirits, including the annual June mourning observed at court in memory of an ancient prince. The reader will hear of the special franchises and immunities accorded to certain tribes, and of the prerogatives, privileges, and varied duties of the other groups. Some of those large families have /354/ the special function of supplying His Black Majesty with sorcerers, keepers of the traditions, rain makers, royal undertakers (who form a closed corporation), etc. (1). In order

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1. The political and social organization of the Banyarwanda is slightly reminiscent of the caste system which is found in the early history of many groups, whether political, religious, or even mere professional castes are involved.

Thus among the Hebrews, the tribe of Levi had a monopoly on sacerdotal functions. Among the Greeks the Asclepiades, who claimed to descend from Aesculapius, transmitted the secrets of medicine to one another from generation to generation. In Rome there were the two great political castes of patricians and plebeians. Even at the present

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time India is the classical land of
castes, where various classes of
people remain completely separated.

●128 to clarify the pages that follow, we shall use the following outline to describe the duties and privileges at court.

The few details given in the short list of posts and dignities will provide an initial understanding of the mores and customs which may prevail at a court of this sort.

In order to round out the picture we wish to convey, it will then suffice to mention, among other things, the safeguards which the king feels he must demand from his employees, the dangers to which the latter were exposed by the nature of their functions, and a few other practices and formalities which the sovereign and his subjects are compelled to observe.

The last two chapters will bear on the two great festivals at court and the strange funeral rites observed at the death of a king. Our data are far from complete: there is too much to be told, and the sources of information are too inadequate. European penetration into those lands is hardly 25 years old. Up to the time of the Great European War, the natives and especially the "great ones" (Abatutsi) remained on their guard. Tongues are just beginning to loosen a little. The historical and ethnological harvest in Ruanda is barely beginning. For these reasons, /355/ the following pages will provide only a short account.

It is nevertheless to be feared that the numerous and strange practices that still largely govern the present life of the court may soon disappear one by one and make room for progress and modern civilization. We believe, therefore, that we did well in presenting to the reader a brief and concise survey of these practices before they sink into oblivion.

While giving choice place to the customs of the court and the mores of the Hamites, we shall not hesitate, whenever the opportunity arises, to wander from the rather narrow boundaries indicated and defined by the title of Book IV. Whenever suitable, and without leaving the subject at hand, we shall broaden its scope to include customs

●128 common to the three ethnic groups which make up the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ nation, or peculiar to one group or another.

Chapter 1.

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I. Posts and Offices of a Historical and Superstitious Nature.
The Keepers of the Customs and Traditions.
The "King" of the First Fruits and the "King" of the Imandwa.

1. Maintenance at court of a dog-faced baboon and a sacred bull.

It will be recalled that according to legend, when the enemies of Ruganzu II the Victorious attempted to smoke him out of a cave, /356/ he was saved by dog-faced baboons (inguge), who led him through subterranean tunnels to another exit. One of those animals is kept at the capital in order to commemorate this fantastic legend.

The clan in charge of caring for the animal is known under the name of Abanyamuheno, that is to say, "Men of the Cave," in memory of the event.

The monkey, tied with a chain, is fed by his keepers with sweet potatoes, beans, grains, sorghum stalks, etc.

When he gets old he is released in the forest where he was captured when young, and another monkey is sought out to replace him.

Is not this custom reminiscent of honored practices at the court of the Pharaohs, where dog-faced baboons were also raised?

[233] Ruanda is a land of pastures. The Batutsi possess numerous herds of cattle which are, rightly enough, the pride and joy of their owners.

It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that aside from the sacred herds that will be mentioned in the last chapter but one of this book there is a bull at court that is the object of special care and attentions.

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INTRODUCTION

THE greater part of this work is directly concerned with the description and analysis of the political organization of Ruanda. The first chapters, however, are devoted to other aspects of the social system: kinship and affinity, marriage and family. As the whole system of social relations in Ruanda constituted a closely knit fabric, it was thought that an understanding of the political institutions necessitates also some treatment of the other structures of human relations. Moreover, a brief account of the physical environment, the quest for food, shelter, and health, and some demographic data have been included because these elements, if external to the pattern of political relations, set the limits within which the Ruanda system of domination grew.

This study refers to the period immediately preceding the time when Ruanda was submitted to the influence of Western culture through its European agents. That is to say, in the continuously moving historical stream, we have chosen to study the particular configuration of the Ruanda political organization at the moment when it had been moulded by the action of many forces, but not by the full impact of European contacts. For reasons mentioned later, the 'zero point' of direct European influence on Ruanda society is not difficult to assess. It is in the first decade of this century. Ruanda social structure did not undergo any significant modification due to European influence until roughly 1910. This date is fortunately not very distant, and around 1950 it was still possible to interview many people who had been young when the old régime was still a working concern. As far as we know, there had been also no direct and continuous contact between Arabs and Ruanda prior to that time.

To remind the reader that we are describing structures and institutions which no longer exist, at least in their entirety, my account is given in the past tense even when it refers to features which are still functioning today. The expressions 'today', 'now', 'at the present time', &c., refer to the period 1950–1 during which basic research was carried out in Ruanda.

As a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale*, I carried out field work in Ruanda

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CHAPTER II

THE SYSTEM OF KINSHIP AND AFFINITY[1]

1. DESCENT GROUPS

AMONG the Ruanda people, Tutsi as well as Hutu, the social principle of descent was agnatic. When any informant is asked who are his ascendants, he always answers by giving the names of his father, his paternal grandfather, his paternal great grandfather up to some male ancestor beyond whom he is unable to go. He does not mention his mother nor any of her ascendants.

Questions on the actual groupings founded on this principle and their functions elicit less unanimous and clear answers. The reason is that kinship groups have undoubtedly undergone a slow process of change in several respects during the Tutsi occupation of the country. What we know of its history[2] is quite sufficient to convince us that there has been a progressive territorial expansion under one dynasty of rulers together with an intensification of the

[1] In order to make clear the connotations of the main concepts used in this chapter, here are a few definitions:

Ego's *kin* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through parent-child and-or sibling links. *Consanguineal* and *cognatic* relatives are used as synonyms for kin.

Ego's *affines* are his socially recognized relatives to whom he is connected through a marriage link. This link may be the first traced from Ego (the affines are then Ego's spouse's kin) or the kinship link may be the first one traced (the affines are then Ego's kin's spouse).

Ego's *patrilineal* or *agnatic* relatives are those of his kin who descend by male links from the same male ancestor as Ego.

Ego's *matrilineal* or *uterine* relatives are those of his kin who descend by female links from the same ancestress as Ego.

Ego's *cross-line* relatives are those of his kin who are neither patrilineally nor matrilineally related to him.

Ego's *paternal* or *patrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his father.

Ego's *maternal* or *matrilateral* relatives are those of his kin to whom he is connected through his mother.

To sum up:

Relatives are *kin* (or consanguineal relatives or cognates) who can be distinguished as
- 1. patrilineal (or agnatic)
- 2. matrilineal (or uterine)
- 3. cross-line

or as
- 1. paternal (or patrilateral)
- 2. maternal (or matrilateral)

and *affines* who can be distinguished as
- 1. kin of Ego's spouse
- 2. spouses of Ego's kin.

[2] See for instances, Pagès, 1933.

611 61. 178 [642] 128 602 [P. 29]

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Umulyango appears to have been the group of living people who would have belonged to the same inzu if that primitive inzu had not split into new ones. This explains the fluidity of the use of the term. For instance the word 'Abareganshuro' (people of Mureganshuro) has meant first 'the members of the inzu of Mureganshuro'; then, after the splitting of that inzu, 'the members of the umulyango of Mureganshuro'. When an inzu divided into different new ones, the ancestor of the former one became the ancestor of the umulyango. Thus the umulyango link existed between members of different inzu having the same origin.

As may be expected, the strength of these links was quite different at the time of the splitting and a few generations afterwards. This accounts for the fact that in some cases the umulyango appears almost as a corporate group very similar to an inzu, and in other cases as a purely nominal group.

The span of life of an umulyango seems less defined than that of an inzu. It is doubtful, however, whether it was longer. Suppose inzu A splits into B and C and becomes umulyango A. Six generations later inzu B splits into inzu D and E and becomes umulyango B. At that time it is very likely that the primitive ancestor being twelve generations past will not be clearly remembered and that, except for some extraordinary reason, he will be superseded by the ancestor of umulyango B.

Descent groups in Ruanda were thus of two different types A permanent group, the ubwoko which fulfilled the definition of patriclan (if exogamy be excluded from that definition) and two temporary groups, inzu and umulyango, the second being rather the surviving shadow of the first. The latter were both patrilineages. As they were not segments in the same sense as among, e.g. the Nuer, it would be misleading to differentiate them according to the terminology of Evans-Pritchard.[7] We would suggest calling inzu a primary and umulyango a secondary patrilineage in order to convey the idea that the umulyango originated from the inzu and that the inzu's functions were more important for the individual and society at large than those of the umulyango.[8]

[7] Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-4.

[8] Members of the inzu were called *bavandimwe* (which primarily means sibling), agnatic relatives, *benemacu* and relatives, affines included, *abacu*.

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was expected to be protective, but he had no authority over his sister's children unless bride-wealth had not been paid for her.

4. EGO'S AFFINES

Following *Notes and Queries*, I shall distinguish two classes among the relatives by marriage. First, those in which the affinal link is the first traced from Ego, i.e. kin of the spouse; secondly, those in which the kinship link is the first one traced, i.e. persons who have married kinsmen and kinswomen.[10]

I shall begin with the second class: spouses of members of Ego's patrilineage, of Ego's mother's patrilineage and their own agnatic relatives. Not all of these spouses were considered by Ruanda to be significantly related to Ego. They say, for instance, that the wife of the maternal uncle (MoBrWi) is just a stranger, whereas there was a particular code of behaviour laid down towards the wife of the paternal uncle (FaBrWi). Among affines I include, besides these spouses of Ego's consanguineal relatives, the consanguineal relatives of these spouses, such as DaHuFa, SoWiFa, &c.

(a) *The Spouses of Ego's Kin*

This is the nomenclature of the second class of Ego's affines.

Role	*Term of address*	*Term of reference*
I. The generation of Ego's father		
FaWi	Mama	Mukadata (wife of Fa)
FaBrWi	Mama	Mukadatawacu (wife of FaBr)
FaSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa masenge (husband of FaSi)
MoSiHu	Name	Mugabo wa mamawacu (husband of MoSi)
II. The generation of Ego's grandfather		
FaFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
MoFaWi	Nyogokuru	Nyogokuru
III. Ego's generation		
BrWi (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugore wacu (wife-our)
BrWi (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramukazi wanjye
SiHu (f.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Mugabowacu (husband-our)
SiHu (m.s.)	Name, nickname or Muvandimwe	Muramu wanjye

[10] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1931, p. 87.

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128 To investigate systematically the social significance of kinship terminology, some procedure should be adopted whereby every term is analysed from a set of relevant viewpoints. In order to do this we are setting them in the following table. The table recapitulates the sixty-one kinship terms mentioned in the preceding sections and for each of them gives eleven characteristics. In this choice I have followed closely the chapter 'Analysis of Kinship' [113] in Murdock's *Social Structure*.[17]

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		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
[18]Sogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
[18]Sogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Sogo-kuru-za	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru-za	r	dr	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Isogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	d
Data	a	e	+	+	–	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Data	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mama	a	e	+	+	+	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Mama	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mama-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-fume	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Maku-data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-gabo-wa-ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wa-mama-wacu	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Data-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-vandimwe	a	dr	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mw-ene-data	r	ds	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-rumuna-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-saza-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-kuru-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-shiki-wanjye	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mw-ene-datu-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-shiki-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-byara-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-byara-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-gore-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gore-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-ramu-kazi-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gabo-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-ramu-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-saza-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
M-wena-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ba-mwana-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-ramu-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-eanzire-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	d

[17] Murdock, 1949, pp. 91-112. Quotations in the following paragraphs come from p. 98.

[18] *a* means address; *r* reference.

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		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Mu-sangire-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	c
Mu-kuba-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-kuba-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	c
M -ana	a	e	–	–	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mu-bungu-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mu-kobwa-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mu-kobwa-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-bungu-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-sengenza-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-sengeneza-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-kazana-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-kwe-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-kazana-wacu	r	dr	–	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mu-kwe-wacu	r	dr	–	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mw-uzukuru-ze	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ubuvivi	r	e	–	–	–	–	+	+	o	–	–	c
Mw-ene-mama	r	ds	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-ka-data	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	d

1. Linguistic structure.
2. Denotes generation.
3. Denotes sex.
4. Denotes affinity and consanguinity.
5. Denotes lineality and collaterality.
6. Denotes bifurcation.
7. Denotes polarity.
8. Denotes age in generation.
9. Denotes speaker's sex.
10. Denotes decendence of link.
11. Range of application.

In the first vertical line the linguistic structure of the term is given. An elementary term (symbolized by 'e' in the table) is 'an irreducible word which cannot be analysed into component lexical elements with kinship meanings', a derivative term (symbolized by 'dr') is 'compounded from an elementary term and some other lexical element which does not have primarily a kinship meaning' and a descriptive term (symbolized by 'ds') 'combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative'.

In the second line a cross (+) indicates that the term is never applied to two individuals to different generations. The dash (–) points out that it can be so used.

The third characteristic is the sex of the person designated by the term. Again (+) indicates that the term is only applicable to males or females and (–) that it may be applied to persons of either sex.

A cross in the fourth line shows that the term may indicate certain individuals among both affinal and consanguineal relatives of Ego; a hyphen denotes that the term can be applied only either to affines or only to consanguineal kinsfolk. In the assessment of this characteristic, the patrilineal descent group of Ego's mother has been considered as a group of consanguineal relatives of Ego.

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In the following column (—) indicates that the term may be applied only to individuals who belong to the same direct line (people who either descend from one another or have all the same ascendants) or only to persons who are collaterals. For instance if the term A may be applied only to Ego's paternal uncle, Ego's paternal uncle's son, and Ego's paternal uncle's grandson, we say that it denotes only people of the same line. If the term B may be applied to Ego's paternal uncle and to Ego's paternal uncle's cousins, we may say that it denotes only collaterals. A (+) means that the term may be applied to a class of individuals, some of whom are collaterals and some belonging to the same line.

In the sixth line there is a cross for the terms which indicate the sex of the relative who is the link between Ego and the role designated by the term, and there is a hyphen for terms which do not denote the sex of the link. The symbol (o) means that there is no link. When there are several links, only the person directly connected to Ego has been considered. For instance if the same term denotes MoBrSo and MoSiSo but not FaBrSo and FaSiSo, only the direct link to Ego, i.e. Mo has been considered. Consequently in this case the term is bifurcate although it does neglect the sex of the second link: Br or Si.

There is polarity when the two participants in a relationship do not refer to each other by the same term. Consequently a (—) means that the term is used reciprocally by the two participants and a (+) that it is not.

The eighth characteristic concerns distinctions of age within the same generation. A hyphen indicates that the term may be used for the complete range of age variations within one generation; a cross means that it applies only to people of a definite age, absolute or relative, within the generation. The symbol (o) means that a term by definition could not denote age differences within a generation as it applies to different generations.

Next, the speaker's sex is considered. There is a dash for terms which may be used by males and females alike and a cross when they are used only by one of the sexes.

The tenth characteristic, as the sixth, is concerned with the person through whom kinship is traced. A dash indicates that the term applies as well if the link is deceased or living and a cross that it applies only when the connecting person is either alive or dead.

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The last column of the table indicates the range of application of the term: is it classificatory or denotative? Although the nine preceding characteristics are criteria of the range of application, I have considered as denotative not only the terms which have these nine characteristics, but those which show only characteristics 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, i.e. generation, sex, distinction between affinity and consanguinity, lineality and collaterality, bifurcation by sex of connecting relative.

If we sum up the different symbols in the vertical lines, we obtain for the sixty-one terms of the table (fifty-five terms of reference and six of address) the following results:

1. Linguistic structure: 6 elementary terms, 48 derivative, 7 descriptive.
2. 54 denote generation, 7 do not.
3. 43 denote sex of the relative, 18 do not.
4. 54 do not cover both affinal and consanguineal relative together and 7 do.
5. 45 do not denote a class of people including lineal and collateral relatives, 16 do.
6. 34 indicate the sex of the person through whom kinship is traced, 19 do not and in 8 cases the question does not arise as there is no link.
7. 50 terms indicate polarity, 11 do not.
8. 59 do not denote age within generation, 2 do, and in 7 cases they ignore age differences by definition.
9. The speaker's sex is indicated in 16 cases, it is not in 45.
10. There is no case in which it is indicated whether the link is living or dead. Thus, except for the 8 cases in which there is no connecting relative, 53 terms ignore that characteristic.
11. 41 terms are classificatory and 20 are denotative.

(*b*) *Concluding remarks*

Let me conclude this chapter with a few remarks on the Ruanda system of kinship and affinity. They are suggested by the previous description of kinship roles or by the table.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally and a lineage is a corporate group of agnates. But Ego does not feel that all others are strangers. He lives, as it were, in a cognatic as well as an agnatic world. For help in important questions, when it is necessary for him to assert his rights to be assisted, he turns to his patrilineal kinsmen, but in

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probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

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be negative or positive. It is to be distinguished from the aim explicitly stated in the charter (written or not) of the institution or the purpose of the association consciously conceived by its members.

Take, for instance, some of the religious ceremonies of a particular group. Their aim as known and admitted by every member of the group may be to honour the ancestral spirits, whereas their function, of which perhaps nobody in the group is completely aware, is to manifest and reinforce the *esprit de corps* of the group. Or an association whose explicit purpose is some philanthropic activity may have as its function the giving of certain political control to a particular set of people. Aim and function are not necessarily different. It may happen that the aim expresses one of the ways in which the institution is significant from the viewpoint of the perpetuation of the particular organization existing in that society.[13]

(*a*) *Fiscal function*

It is not difficult to determine the main social function of the administrative structure of Ruanda. It was identical indeed with its explicitly recognized aim in that society. Aim and function were fiscal: the country had to provide its rulers with consumption goods.

Tribute collecting was very methodically organized. Because of the division of the country into about seventy to ninety districts, the amount to be supplied was distributed in a way which did not favour one region more than another. Even parts of Ruanda which were far from the royal court had to provide dues for the local royal residence. The timing of the levies was also fortunate as the agricultural products were not demanded when the rulers needed them but at harvesting time. Tribute labour seems also to have been regularly required during the year.

Were these impositions heavy? It is very difficult to assess the proportion of foodstuff and labour required from each family head. I gathered from different informants that about a third of the labour of one individual was required from each family. It is important to stress the fact that only one person in each rugo had to fulfil this demand whereas there were usually several men able to give that tribute in each family.

[13] See Radcliffe-Brown, 1922, p. ix; 1940, p. 10; 1952, pp. 180 f; Maquet 1949a; 1954c, p. 63.

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superior authority's judgement and this increased the ruler's power over his subordinates.

This applied not only to the political organization but also to the feudal structure, which had potentially the most disruptive action on a centralized government. Indeed, the subject-client had often to ask protection and support from his political chief against his lord and from his lord against his political chief. Consequently, between the important lords, even those who were not themselves prominent in the political hierarchies, and the political chiefs, relations were often very tense. Moreover, as the very important lords who could have attempted to resist the central government held at the same time political offices, they were directly enmeshed in rivalries and jealousies.

Engendered by the hierarchic plurality, the mistrust which prevented the subordinate chiefs from uniting against the central government, which led them to spy on each other and to inform the king of anything suspect, was the main check against tendencies towards local autonomy in Ruanda. Even if that hostility between important Tutsi happened to express itself openly and violently, the central government was not very anxious to restore peace as long as troubles remained localized and did not threaten the regular collection of taxes and the authority of the king.

3. THE FUNCTION OF THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN RUANDA

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At the beginning of this study, in order to delimit the social phenomena we wished to study, political organization in an intragroup context was defined as 'the totality of culturally patterned relationships between certain individuals who possess the legitimate use of physical force and all the others who inhabit at a certain time a certain territory'. This definition did not include the function of a system of political relationships because, it was stated, it is only through analysis that the function fulfilled by a set of institutions in a particular social context, may be ascertained.

In the preceding chapters, the different political structures have been analysed from a functional point of view. It will be sufficient to summarize what has been said to grasp the function of the Ruanda political organization as a whole. Here we shall consider together the feudal as well as the administrative and military systems.

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services to a lord in order to become his client, one was entitled to receive usufruct of his cattle. But the number of cows was not determined. It could be one or twenty or fifty or even more.

It was up to the ruler to decide if any protection was to be granted and to what extent. Of course the pressure of public opinion obliged him not to refuse aid to his subordinate unless he had some socially accepted reason to do so (such as the subordinate's disobedience), but the measure of the protection depended on his own will and pleasure.

These characteristics of the protective attitude (care of the whole of the subordinate's life, its very variable extent being left to the superior's judgement) allow us to apply to it the qualification of 'paternalistic'. Paternalism is understood here as 'the principle of acting in a way like that of a father towards his children. Because of the total dependency of the human offspring, during their first years, on those who nurse and educate them—and they are usually their parents—the latter's authority ranges over the whole of the life of the child. In everything he needs his parents, in everything they have to direct and control him. Moreover, parents sovereignly judge what they are going to give their children. Undoubtedly, their social groups force them to secure for their children the protection they need to live and develop but the children may not require such or such a particular service. Parents decide without further ado what is suitable for the child and think that better than he they know what is 'best for him'.

A paternal relation does not exclude profit. In describing the Ruanda's father's role towards his sons, I mentioned that the father's interests were usually thought to be predominant in respect of the children's interests. When inferiors were not the superior's children but his subjects or clients, that aspect of profit was much more emphasized. All those who occupied the inferior position in the relations of the political and feudal structures had dues to give and tribute labour to perform for the profit of their superiors, and some of these obligations were heavy. It did not appear at all unusual to Ruanda that power brought many privileges to those who had it. If one is a chief, is it not fitting to draw advantages from one's situation? Here, again, the extent of the subject's obligations was left within very broad limits to the superior's discretion.

The ruler's role seems to have been that paternalistic blend of

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different share in social power and fundamentally different rights.

The Ruanda principle of inequality could be expressed in the following terms: people born in different castes are unequal in inborn endowment, physical as well as psychological and have consequently fundamentally different rights.

That premise, closely connected with the caste structure, is suggested by the analysis of the political and feudal structures. Indeed, when a principle of inequality exists in a society with respect to a certain type of relations, it does not fail to spread to other relations more or less similar. In Ruanda, the inegalitarian premise of inter-caste relations has permeated the intricate relations which could be regarded as analogous in certain respects. A Tutsi who was lord over another Tutsi was thought to be superior over his client in a way comparable to the manner in which he was superior over his Hutu clients. Of course significant differences remained between inter- and intra-caste relationships of superiority, but the latter tended to be patterned on the former ones.

The extension to intricate relations of the premise of inter-caste inequality made it a principle of integration with a very wide bearing as it could, and did, in fact, pervade all the human relations in which a superiority of one actor over the other was implied. It could be the relation between a mother and her young child, a father and his son, a man and his wife, an old man and a youngster, a craftsman and an apprentice, &c. These relations constituting the texture of social life, the impact on collective living of the premise of fundamental inequality, cannot be over-estimated.

4. THE THEOREMS

In order to understand better how the inequality premise influenced the whole of Ruanda social life, the different aspects of that influence must be made explicit. They will be expressed as a set of theorems, by which is meant general propositions or statements which are not self-evident.

Theorem One

When two persons are involved in any kind of social relation, it is their mutual hierarchical situation which is regarded as the most relevant element of the relation.

Superiority and inferiority were *foci* of the Ruanda social structure to such an extent that as soon as they entered as a

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APPENDIX 2

Computation of answers given to the Questionnaire by a sample of 300 Tutsi.

		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
1. Is there a difference between *umulyango* and *uwoko*?	yes	274	91·3
	no	26	8·6
2. Do they know the name of their *umulyango* head?	yes	278	92·6
	no	22	7·3
3. Is there a difference between *inzu* and *umulyango*?	yes	295	98·3
	no	5	1·6
4. Was your family under the authority of one or several army-chiefs?	one	248	82·6
	several	52	17·3
5. Do they know the name of the first army to which their *inzu* belonged?	yes	295	98·3
	no	5	1·6
6. Has your *inzu* belonged to other armies?	yes	90	30·0
	no	210	70·0
7. Have you been *intore*?	yes	187	62·3
	no	113	37·6
8. Was any Ruanda a member of an army?	yes	298	99·3
	no	2	0·6
9. Was it possible to be a member of two armies?	yes	1	0·3
	no	299	99·6
10. Could the army-chief require dues directly from anybody or only through the lineage head?	direct	0	0·0
	lineage head	300	100·0
11. Could a man be incorporated into two *intore* companies?	yes	13	4·3
	no	287	95·6
12. Do they give the name of somebody who has been in such a situation?	yes	13	4·3
	no	287	95·6
13. Was an army member usually the only person of his kin group in the army?	yes	0	0·0
	no	300	100·0
14. Or was he with his married sons?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
15. With his unmarried sons?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
16. With his brothers?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0
17. With his brothers' children?	yes	300	100·0
	no	0	0·0

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			Absolute figures	*Percentages*
128	18. With his sisters' children?	yes	5	1·6
		no	295	98·3
125	19. With his paternal uncles?	yes	300	100·0
		no	0	0·0
	20. With his clients?	yes	22	7·3
		no	277	92·3
		DK[1]	1	0·3
	21. Was it possible to have cows not granted by a lord?	yes	277	92·3
		no	17	5·6
		DK	6	2·0
	22. Were the cows acquired by independent economic activity regarded as army cows?	yes	256	85·3
		no	42	14·0
		DK	2	0·6
	23. Was a married man, the only member left of his *inzu*, regarded as a lineage head from the army point of view?	yes	293	97·6
		no	0	0·0
		DK	7	2·3
	24. Was it the same to be a client and to be commanded by an army-chief?	yes	3	1·0
		no	297	99·0
	25. Were the 'king's cows' *imbata*?	yes	185	61·6
		no	4	1·3
		DK	111	37·0
	26. Did they distinguish in any army two sections (warriors and herdsmen)?	yes	251	83·6
		no	1	0·3
		DK	48	16·0
	27. When a new army-chief was appointed, were *murundo* and/or *indabukiranzo* obligatory?	*mur.* only	0	0·0
		ind. only	10	3·3
		both	288	96·0
		DK	2	0·6
	28. If one had no cows, was one obliged to give a recognition gift?	yes	24	8·0
		no	275	91·6
		DK	1	0·3
	29. Had the army-chief the effective disposal of the *murundo* cows?	yes	300	100·0
		no	0	0·0
	30. Could the army-chief order the numbering by himself?	yes	14	4·6
		no	269	89·6
		DK	17	5·6

[1] The symbol DK denotes not only the avowed ignorance of the informants. It has been used also when an answer had to be discarded for other reasons such as its irrelevance indicating that the informant did not understand it, or when it appeared clearly in the interview that the informant was giving any answer for answer's sake, or was answering what he thought the anthropologist wanted.

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		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
31. Who minded the cattle taken in the *murundo*?	*abashumba* only	106	35·3
	inkomamas only	0	0·0
	both	158	52·6
	a warrior	1	0·3
	DK	35	11·6
32. A dispute between two Tutsi of the same army and the same hill was judged by:	their army-chief	274	91·3
	their land-chief	6	2·0
	DK	20	6·6
33. A dispute between two Tutsi from different armies was judged by:	one army-chief	19	6·3
	both army-chiefs	245	81·6
	their land-chiefs	7	2·3
	DK	29	9·6
34. With whom had a client to lodge a complaint against his lord?	client's army-chief	158	52·6
	lord's army-chief	20	6·6
	king	34	11·3
	DK	88	29·3
35. With whom had a lord to lodge a complaint against his client?	client's army-chief	39	13·0
	lord's army-chief	159	53·0
	land-chief of both	1	0·3
	king	28	9·3
	DK	73	24·3
36. If one wanted one's litigation to be judged by the king, it was advisable to be accompanied by:	one's lord	117	39·0
	one's army-chief	82	27·3
	both of them	54	18·0
	DK	47	15·6
37. Could everybody appeal to the king?	yes	266	88·6
	no	26	8·6
	DK	8	2·6
38. Were those who prevented somebody from appealing to the king punished?	yes	149	49·6
	no	82	27·3
	DK	69	23·0
39. Could army members have their army-chief dismissed?	yes	248	82·6
	no	44	14·6
	DK	8	2·6
40. Who brought the case to the mwami?	all army mem.	5	1·6
	a delegation	215	71·6
	DK	80	26·6
41. What section of the army had to provide the court with *inkuke*?	*abashumba*	295	98·3
	warriors	1	0·3
	DK	4	1·3

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		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
42. What section of the army had to provide the court with jugs of milk?	*abashumba*	296	98·6
	warriors	0	0·0
	DK	4	1·3
43. With foodstuffs?	*abashumba*	3	1·0
	warriors	11	3·6
	Hutu army mem.	277	92·3
	DK	9	3·0
44. With bulls to be slaughtered?	*abashumba*	268	89·3
	warriors	2	0·6
	both sections	8	2·6
	DK	22	7·3
45. With steers for divination purposes?	*abashumba*	123	41·0
	warriors	2	2·6
	both sections	166	55·3
	DK	9	3·0
46. What section of the army had to maintain the enclosure?	*abashumba*	11	3·6
	warriors	2	0·6
	Hutu army mem.	4	1·3
	all army mem.	278	92·6
	DK	5	1·6
47. All these services and dues were given by:	lineage head	294	98·0
	each member	2	0·6
	DK	4	1·3
48. Was the country divided into several districts?	yes	290	96·6
	no	7	2·3
	DK	3	1·0
49. What were the names of these districts?	*igikingi*	10	3·3
	igiti	58	19·3
	urugo	36	12·0
	umurwa	22	7·3
	ubuhebe	72	24·0
	igikingi, igiti, rugo	5	1·6
	igiti, rugo	11	3·6
	igikingi, igiti	17	5·6
	igiti, ubuhebe	25	8·3
	igikingi, igiti, ubuhebe	3	1·0
	DK	41	13·6
50. Do they know the name of the royal residence in the place where they lived?	yes	258	86·0
	no	28	9·3
	DK	14	4·6

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		Absolute figures	*Percentages*	
51. Do they remember the names of other such residences?	yes	283	94·3	128 ●
	no	16	5·3	125
	DK	1	0·3	
52. Do they understand *umunyamukenke* in the sense of cattle-chief?	yes	277	92·3	
	no	7	2·6	
	DK	16	5·3	
53. Do they understand *umunyabutaka* in the sense of land-chief?	yes	283	94·3	
	no	6	2·0	
	DK	11	3·6	
54. Who collected the *urutete* for the court?	land-chief	267	89·0	
	army-chief	11	3·6	
	both of them	3	1·0	
	another person	6	2·0	
	DK	13	4·3	
55. In addition to milk and *inkuke*, which other cattle dues were sent to the residence?	milk only	0	0·0	
	inkuke only	30	10·0	
	both	233	77·3	
	neither of them	32	10·6	
	DK	5	1·6	
56. Who required these additional jugs of milk from the hill-chief?	cattle-chief	204	68·0	
	another person	70	23·3	
	DK	26	8·6	
57. Which cows provided that milk?	indep. acquired	1	0·3	
	abashumba's cows	247	82·3	
	others' cows	33	11·0	
	DK	19	6·3	
58. Do they understand *abakoni* in the sense of those who seized cattle in expeditions?	yes	203	67·6	
	another meaning	49	16·3	
	DK	48	16·0	
59. For whose benefit were the cattle seized by *abakoni*?	army-chief	6	2·0	
	mwami	261	87·0	
	DK	33	11·0	
60. *Umudende* means:				
badge for having killed 7 men		206	68·6	
badge		74	24·6	
something else or DK		20	6·6	
61. How many names do they remember of warriors having worn *mudende*?	five or more	114	38·0	
	less than 5	140	46·0	
	none	46	15·3	
62. *Impalore* means:				
badge for having killed 14 men		42	14·0	
badge		133	44·3	
something else or DK		125	41·6	

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		Absolute figures	*Percentages*
128 125 63. How many names do they remember of warriors having worn *impotore*?	five or more	12	4·0
	less than five	78	26·0
	none	210	70·0
64. *Gucana uruti* means:			
ritual after having killed 21 men		32	10·6
a military honour		213	71·0
something else or DK		55	18·3
65. How many names do they remember of warriors having received that honour?	five or more	5	1·6
	less than five	108	36·0
	none	187	62·3
66. Who granted the *umudende* badge?	oneself	16	5·3
	army-chief	2	0·6
	king	245	81·6
	DK	37	12·6
67. Who granted the *impotore* badge?	oneself	5	1·6
	king	164	54·6
	DK	131	43·6
68. Who performed the ritual of *gucana uruti*?	oneself	146	48·6
	army-chief	1	0·3
	lord	2	0·6
	king	89	29·6
	DK	62	20·6
69. Did the cattle army include only *nyambo*?	yes	23	7·6
	no	267	89·0
	DK	10	3·3
70. Did the army cattle include the army-chief's herds?	yes	287	95·6
	no	3	1·0
	DK	10	3·3
71. Did the army cattle include the cows given to the army warriors as rewards for bravery?	yes	284	94·6
	no	5	1·6
	DK	10	3·3
72. Did the army cattle include the cows received as bride-wealth by army members?	yes	286	95·3
	no	4	1·3
	DK	10	3·3
73. Did the army cattle include the cows received as gifts by the army members?	yes	287	95·6
	no	3	1·0
	DK	10	3·3
74. Did the army cattle include the cows received in exchange with the army members?	yes	286	95·3
	no	4	1·3
	DK	10	3·3

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		Absolute figures	*Percentages*	
75. The hill-chief received his office from:	land-chief	5	1·6	128
	cattle-chief	8	2·6	125
	army-chief	26	8·6	
	king	97	32·3	
	cattle-chief, army-chief	17	5·6	
	land-, army-c., king	1	0·3	
	army-c., king	68	22·6	
	cattle-c., army-c., king	21	7·0	
	land-c., king	1	0·3	
	cattle-c., king	9	3·0	
	DK	47	15·6	
76. The superior of the hill-chief was:	land-chief	7	2·3	
	cattle-chief	30	10·0	
	army-chief	77	25·6	
	lord	1	0·3	
	another person	63	21·0	
	cattle-c., army-c.	38	12·6	
	cattle-c., king	2	0·6	
	army-c., king	7	2·3	
	DK	75	25·0	
77. The area of the *umusozi*, when compared to that of the *ibikingi* was:	larger	290	96·6	
	the same	8	2·6	
	DK	2	0·6	
78. Were there *ibikingi* depending directly on the royal court?	yes	294	98·0	
	no	4	1·3	
	DK	2	0·6	
79. Who appointed the heads of these *ibikingi*?	king	296	98·6	
	somebody else	1	0·3	
	DK	3	1·0	
80. Had the cattle-chief authority over them?	yes	101	33·6	
	no	192	64·0	
	DK	7	2·3	
81. Could the land-chief require labour from those living on these royal *ibikingi*?	yes	64	21·3	
	no	232	77·3	
	DK	4	1·3	
82. Were those who had received these *ibikingi* from the king under the army-chief's authority?	yes	171	57·0	
	no	128	42·6	
	DK	1	0·3	

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			Absolute figures	*Percentages*
128 125 83.	Was the cattle-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the court?	yes	18	6·0
		no	273	91·0
		DK	9	3·0
84.	Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the milk he sent to the cattle-chief?	yes	16	5·3
		no	276	92·0
		DK	8	2·6
85.	Was the land-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the court?	yes	296	98·6
		no	0	0·0
		DK	4	1·3
86.	Was the hill-chief allowed to retain a part of the foodstuffs he sent to the land-chief?	yes	285	95·0
		no	8	2·6
		DK	7	2·3
87.	Do they know the name of a hill on which there was a royal cemetery?	yes	263	87·6
		Rutare	214	71·6
		no	30	10·0
		DK	7	2·3
88.	Were the people living on such hills obliged to pay agricultural dues to the court?	yes	13	4·3
		no	251	83·6
		DK	36	12·0
89.	Do they know the name of a *mwiru's* place?	yes	229	76·3
		no	55	18·3
		DK	16	5·3
90.	Was such a place submitted to the authority of the cattle- and land-chiefs?	yes	3	1·0
		no	237	79·0
		DK	60	20·0
91.	Could the same person be at the same time cattle- and land-chief?	yes	107	35·6
		no	180	60·0
		DK	13	4·3
92.	Could a Hutu be cattle-chief?	yes	18	6·0
		no	273	91·0
		DK	9	3·0
93.	Could a Hutu be land-chief?	yes	275	91·6
		no	21	7·0
		DK	4	1·3
94.	Do they know the names of Hutu cattle-chiefs?	yes	14	4·6
		no	286	95·3
95.	Do they know the names of Hutu land-chiefs?	yes	258	86·0
		no	42	14·0
	Do they know the names of Hutu hill-chiefs?	yes	207	69·0
		no	83	27·3
		DK	10	3·3

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			Absolute figures	*Percentages*
96.	Do they know the names of Hutu army-chiefs?	yes	167	55·6
		no	130	43·3
		DK	3	1·0
97.	Could a Twa be appointed hill-chief?	yes	201	67·0
		no	96	32·0
		DK	3	1·0
98.	Do they know the names of Twa who have been hill-chiefs?	yes	195	65·0
		no	101	33·6
		DK	4	1·3
99.	Could a Twa be appointed cattle-chief or land-chief without being ennobled?	yes	0	0·0
		no	297	99·0
		DK	3	1·0
100.	When Tutsi lived under the authority of a Twa or Hutu chief, did they have to obey him?	yes	284	94·6
		no	7	2·3
		DK	9	3·0